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C a n d i d a n I m p a r t i a l A C C O U N T

O F T H E

B E H A V I O U R

O F

Fraser
S I M O N, Lord *Lovat*.

Fully detecting the clandestine views of that writer ; and interspersed with reflections on the principles and practices of the J A C O B I T E S.

Addressed to the PEOPLE of E N G L A N D and I R E L A N D.

Salus Populi suprema Lex esto.

— Nothing in his Life
Became Him like the leaving it. He dy'd,
As one that had been studied in his Death,
To throw away the dearest Thing he ow'd,
As 'twere a careles Trifle.

MACBETH.

D U B L I N:

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A N S W E R, &c.

WHEN the enemies to his majesty, and his government, endeavour to seduce his subjects from their allegiance, by insidious writings; it is incumbent on every well-wisher to the constitution, who is able to take up the pen, to unmask such authors; expose their secret views; and, thereby prevent the evil impressions, which, for want of a proper antidote, might be made on the minds of the multitude. For a writer to be silent on such an occasion, seems equally inglorious with the man of courage, who should forbear unsheathing his sword, when the safety of his country call'd loudly for his aid.

The piece I have now under censure, is the more dangerous as the seeming design of it is merely to do justice to the memory of an ill-fated nobleman: for which purpose the author dips his pen in oil; assumes an air of humanity; and employs the plainest and most unaffected style; yet all this time he is artfully endeavouring to alienate the minds of the people from their lawful sovereign, by prejudicing them in favour of Popery and Jacobitism. (*I have studied, says he in the preface, no elegance in the composition of this pamphlet, nor introduc'd any unnecessary embellishments, being always of opinion, that nakedness is the best ornament for truth*).

That this is the great object of the writer, is evident from every part of his pamphlet. But to prove it beyond a contradiction, I will now examine, without any farther preamble, some passages in it. Page 5. we are told lord Lovat said; *That he was concerned in all the schemes that had been formed for restoring the Royal Family, since he was fifteen years old.* Now why are these Words *restoring the Royal Family*, join'd together, except to recall to the memory of the people the restoration of king Charles II. thereby to draw an odious parallel between the present times, and those when hypocrisy and anarchy were triumphant? Farther, the style, *Royal Family*, bestow'd on the exil'd Stuarts [abstracted from the boldness of the expression] is paying no great compliment to the illustrious house who now sways the *British* scepter.

Page 8. lord Lovat informs a nobleman who enquir'd concerning his religion: *That he was a Roman-Catholic; and wou'd die in that faith. That he adher'd to the rock upon which Christ built his church; to St. Peter, and the succession of pastors, from him down to the present time; and that he reject'd*

and renounc'd all sects and communities, that were rejected by the church. What can be the tendency of this paragraph, except to win over our countrymen to the cause of Popery; the most absurd, the most immoral, and most cruel religion invented by man? To ascribe such a religion to *Jesus Christ*, is the highest blasphemy; He who founded his excellent system on disinterestedness, and humanity; in short, on the whole round of social virtues. How different the tenets and practice of the *Romanists*, are from the true spirit of christianity, is particularly manifest from Christ's sermon on the mount, and from all the tenor of his wonderful life. Persons conversant in ecclesiastical history, know, that the church, as founded by Christ, was beautifully plain and pious; but that the avarice of the *Roman* pontiffs rais'd, at different periods, a showy, incoherent, motley superstructure upon it; whence [like *Pandora's* box] numberless plagues are daily issuing, to the destruction of mankind. However, as the horrid impositions and errors of the church of *Rome*, have been sufficiently exploded in a multitude of treatises written for that purpose, and are in such a variety of hands; it might be superfluous to combat them any farther here; and yet a word or two seem'd necessary, as the emissaries of Popery, are, in defiance of our laws, incessantly playing off engines of every kind, in order to make converts.

Page 9. a passage of scripture is introduc'd with the highest *Finesse*, tho' seemingly brought in merely to point out a difference in opinion, between the *Jesuits* and *Jansenists*, with regard to GRACE. The passage is this: O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, AND YE WOULD NOT! *Matt. xxiii. 37.*—From the *Latin* translation accompanying the above verse of scripture, I judge this to be an arrow shot from the quiver of a *Romish* priest.---Does not every intelligent reader perceive, that by *Jerusalem* the *British* nation is to be understood; and by *the prophets*, the rebels who have so justly been put to death? What a detestable use is here made of scripture? to excite, in the nation, *pity* for the sufferings of a set of people, who involv'd us in blood and confusion; and to countenance rebellion, with all its train of horrors. How abominable a religion must that be which can encourage such practices! how black the man who can be an instrument for that purpose!

In the above page [9,] we are told that lord *Lovat*, having occasion to speak of the late king *George I.* he gave his majesty a great character, and added, 'He was my friend, and I dearly lov'd him.'---Now, why is this paragraph brought in, and why the latter part of it printed in *Italick*?---Certainly with

no other view, than to offer to the reader's mind the most unjust contrast between our present sovereign, and his royal father: To paint the one as a *Titus*, the other as a *Nero*. But his majesty's clemency, extended to so great a number of those unhappy men who join'd in the rebellion, wou'd be the strongest refutation of this injurious *Innuendo*, were there not a multitude of other instances to prove the wickedness of it.

Page 10. his lordship thus replies to a gentleman, who was sorry there should be any occasion for an executioner for lord Lovat; *so I believe are many of those who were the cause of my coming hither, and for ought I knew, all of 'em will bye and bye.* Whether his lordship by these words *bye and bye*, meant that another rebellion might be expected; or that those who had assisted in bringing him to the scaffold, would be punish'd for it in the next world; I shall not take upon me to determine. His lordship complains, in the same place, of being *hardly dealt by*. There is no doubt, but he might have been roughly handled, [when in the hands of justice] by some of the underlings in her train; these being too frequently a set of cormorants without bowels; men who, so far from being touch'd with the afflictions and distresses of human nature, rejoice in them whenever the least glimpse of gain offers. But how widely different the peers, his lordships judges, thought of this matter, is conspicuous from their great indulgence to him, during the whole course of his trial; and the order they gave for restoring him his strong box. Lord Lovat complains, in the same paragraph, of being *convicted by his own servants; by the men who had been nurtur'd in his own bosom.* I believe no man of honour could entertain a high esteem for persons of this character, or would take them to his bosom; and yet, if the situation of these people be duly consider'd, their conduct may not appear so odious, as it does at first sight; and no one has a right to inveigh against them, till after he has sufficiently examin'd his own breast; and enquir'd whether he himself would not have acted the very same part, had he been in the like circumstances. Lord Lovat adds; *'Tis a sad thing, for a man's own servants to take off the head of their master and chief.* But might not this be very justly retorted upon him? was not our sovereign king George, his master and chief? did not his lordship take an oath to him, and receive a pension; and yet as this pamphlet-writer owns, page 5, lord Lovat was concerned in all the schemes that had been formed, for restoring the Royal Family, since he was fifteen years old. His lordship indeed adds, *that he never betrayed a private man;* but then he would have betray'd his sovereign, which of all treacheries, is the most horrid.

'Tis observed (page 8.) that his lordship being ask'd, *of what particular sort of catholicks he himself was;* and farther, *Are you a Jesuit?* --- *A Jesuit, no, no,* (answer'd lord Lovat) in
ridicule;

ridicule ; *I am a Jansenist*. But might not one conclude, from his dissimulation and hypocrisy with the government, that he really was a Jesuit ; one who (like *Ralpho* in his contest with the doughty knight) for the sake of carrying on his destructive schemes, was of opinion, that the most sacred oaths might be sported with.

“ A saint’s o’ th’ heavenly realm a peer,
 “ And as no peer is bound to swear,
 “ But on the gospel of his honour,
 “ Of which he may dispose, as owner ;
 “ It follows, tho’ the thing be forg’ry,
 “ And false, th’ affirm it is no perjury,
 “ But a mere cer’mony ; and breach
 “ Of nothing, but a form of speech ;
 “ And goes for no more when ’tis took,
 “ Than mere saluting of the book.

* * * * *

“ Oaths are but words, and words but wind ;
 “ Too feeble implements to bind ;
 “ And holds with deeds proportion so,
 “ As shadows to a substance do.”

HUDIBRAS.

As by the happy lenity of our laws, prisoners cannot be put to the torture ; the writer of this pamphlet must be sensible, that there is frequently no other way of bringing a criminal to justice, than by making use of his confederates ; and consequently that a government who employs such engines ought not to be charg’d with *dealing hardly* ; since such a conduct is merely and act of self-preservation. No indulgent reader will infer, from any observation made above, that I would be an advocate either for *goalers or informers* ; a set of men whom I, in general, detest ; and consider in no other light, than as so many necessary evils.

Page 12. We are told of a repartee, made by his lordship, upon his calling for a basin of water, and which concludes thus ; *Sir, I wish it was in my power to change all things ; if it was, I’d make a thorough change indeed*. No judicious reader will suspect lord *Lovat’s* sincerity on this occasion. He doubtless would have made A THOROUGH CHANGE ; but such a one, as that of the *Indians*, when they barter with the *Europeans*, gold for glass. Could this righteous lord have obtain’d his wishes, pure religion would have been exchang’d for superstition, and tyranny for the sweets of freedom. As the above repartee has neither wit, or even the shadow of smartness in it ; I see no other motive for foisting it in, than merely to sower the minds of the people, by making them discontented with their present governors.

In the above page (12) notice is taken of the bill depending in parliament relating to the *Scotch* affairs. Lord *Lovat* wishing
 (very

(very fragrantly) that all such gentlemen as should vote for it, might have the *skitters* or a looseness. I hope I shall not be thought to judge over rashly, if I also take this paragraph (as introduced here) to be calculated in no other view than to foment dissensions among us, and ruffle the stream of our present tranquility; tho' there is no doubt but that the bill in question may be oppos'd, by others, from the most honourable motives. I have read a petition of a noble D--- to the H---se of C---m---s, drawn up with the utmost politeness; express'd in all the beauty of language; and with as much good sense as the subject would admit. But I am humbly of opinion, that the affair of the *Clanship* may be easily answer'd. The first article to be regarded, in all establishments, is the security and felicity of the whole; and this, if possible, without injuring private property: but if the wish'd-for end cannot be obtained, without such violation, an individual must submit; tho' all persons of an equitable mind will be sorry for his misfortune. This clanship, in the *British* dominions, may be compared to a weak part in the human body; upon which the humours are sure to fall, when ever that is indispos'd. To harbour among ourselves a numberless multitude of people, who, when ever we are engaged in war, join with our enemies, at the same time that 'tis in our own power to make the people above-hinted at friends, would argue, in my humble opinion, as much folly, as for a man to neglect shaking off a viper that was going to bite his hand. But I shall leave this important point to our legislators, who are infinitely the best judges of what may be for our advantage or otherwise; and shou'd not have once glanc'd at it, had it not been introduc'd, in all probability, by the pamphlet-writer, from a sinister view; as likewise the paragraph, page 12, where lord *Lovat* declares, with a vehemence not usual to persons of his advanc'd years, that *If he had his broad sword by him, he should not scruple to chop off their heads* (those of Sir *H. M.* and Sir *L. G.*) *if he thought they were in the least concerned, in bringing in or voting for the bill now depending for destroying the antient jurisdiction and privileges of the highland chiefs.* It must be confess'd, that such a wish was extremely natural to lord *Lovat*, when we consider the use he made of his own clan; and his strong attachment to the pretender, the *French* interest, and the church of *Rome*.

Page 12, his lordship has these words: *For my part, I die a martyr for my country.* If he did die a martyr for it, he scarcely liv'd one, or the highest injustice is done to his lordship's character. A multitude of unjust aspersions may, doubtless, have been cast upon him a fate common to all men, how deserving soever, who fall into misfortunes, and the authors whereof merit the sharpest censure; but, if the public voice is to be credited, and a judgment may be formed from some of his lordship's

ship's actions ; we may pronounce, that his life was very far from being edifying. I do not take up the pen to blacken it ; but, on the contrary, would bury his transgressions quietly with him in the grave, did not I think it necessary, in order to undeceive the public, to set matters in a true light ; for the sake of which, all particular regard and deference should be laid aside ; and this will plead my apology with every equitable reader.

When I consider the general evil tendency of the pamphlet in question, I am apt to look upon the notice taken of lieutenant-governor *Williamson's* civility [which however was extremely praise-worthy] to this unhappy lord during his confinement, in the same view ; as where 'tis observed [Page 13] that his lordship, the day before his execution, *ask'd about general Williamson's family ; spoke very kindly of the general ; and being informed, that miss Williamson was so affected that she could not take leave of his lordship : ' God bless the dear child, says he, and make her eternally happy, for she is a kind-hearted good lass.'* The behaviour of the young lady on this melancholy occasion, throws the brightest lustre round her ; and must set her in the most amiable light in the eye of all benevolent dispositions ; but I suspect that this circumstance and some others, were introduc'd only to wake compassion in the minds of the multitude ; by representing lord *Lovat* as a person who, by his virtues, had attracted the love and veneration even of those whose prisoner he was. I consider, as flowing from the same principle, the account given us, *that his lordship seem'd to have a great regard for his two warders ; and also my lord's saying, when one of them declar'd, that if ever he lived to see his son, the master of Lovat, he would let him know with what tenderness his lordship parted with him.* Give me leave to rank in the same class, the following incident [Page 19] where lord *Lovat* asking general *Williamson*, on the day of the execution, *whether he might have the honour to see his lady, to return her his last thanks for the favours and civilities he had received :* The general answer'd ; *my spouse is so greatly affected with your lordship's misfortunes, that she cannot bear the shock of seeing you at this time, and begs to be excused.* I wish too that the compliment (which doubtless was just) paid to Mr. *Alsop*, one of the sheriffs, who is described as *a gentleman of a friendly, humane disposition* [Page 19] may not be grounded on the motive above hinted at ; as well as, when my lord thanks the sheriffs, for allowing his friends and relations access to him, adding : *That it was a considerable consolation to him that his body fell into the hands of gentlemen of so much honour.* as also Page 20, where one of the sheriffs says, *I would not hurry your lordship---there is half an hour good, if your lordship does not tarry too long upon the scaffold.* Likewise the following

lowing extraordinary paragraph, Page 20, relating to my lord's desiring the sheriff, that his head might be receiv'd in a cloth, and put into the coffin; to which the sheriff replied: *That he had received a warrant in the usual form, for the execution of his lordship, and as it had not been customary of late years to expose the head at the four corners of the scaffold, he really thought he might indulge his lordship with a promise as to that point, for he did not think he could expose the head (though it was desired, and indeed ordered by a message) without being liable to censure; adding withal; That he was truly sensible of the duty he ow'd his MAJESTY, and should always pay a great regard to the orders he received from his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, or any of the ministry.* The above quotation, seems, to me, big with disaffection, else why that parenthesis? (*though it was desired, and even order'd by a message*) and why is the word *Majesty* printed in capitals here (and in no other place) as also that of NEWCASTLE; it looks as though an odium of cruelty were intended to be thrown upon a place where it is well known to least reside. The great aversion our sovereign has to giving his *Fiat* for executions, is so universally acknowledged, that it were needless to expatiate on his merciful disposition in this place.

The friends to lord *Lovat*, and other jacobites, will no doubt say, that I have strained matters too far, in the last paragraph; and been too severe in my construction with regard to the motives which, I imagine, induced the pamphlet-writer to expiate so much on lord *Lovat*'s gratitude for favours received during his imprisonment in the *Tower*. Such persons will probably apply to me these lines of our famous satyrist:

*All seems infected that th' infected spy,
As all looks yellow to the jaundic'd eye.*

ESSAY on CRITICISM.

I shall only answer, that I am conscious to myself, my mind is not of this inveterate cast; that so far from blaming the unhappy lord *Lovat* for those expressions of gratitude, I consider them as highly commendable in him; but at the same time I cannot but think the pamphlet-writer deserves the sharpest reproof, for the reasons given above; and this will be my opinion, till he convinces me of the contrary; in which case I shall, with the utmost satisfaction, retract my mistake.

We are told Page 22, that lord *Lovat*, when on the scaffold, repeated this famous line of *Horace*:

Dulce & decorum est pro patria mori.

In English.

How sweet, how great, to suffer for our country!

Here the pamphlet-writer wou'd, no doubt, have us image lord *Lovat* to our minds, as a person of consummate virtue; as

a patriot whose life had been worne out in the service of his country; as a *Cato* or a *Socrates*: How far such a comparison might hold, may be referred to the opinion of the generality of my countrymen, who probably (as mankind are apt to run into extremes) would rather think of a *Catiline* on this occasion. If the author, who has promised to write his lordship's life, can set his character, from authentic vouchers, in a fairer view, I shall peruse it with pleasure, and instantly become a proselyte to his opinion.

The pamphlet writer introduces the following particular, Page 18, naturally enough: *At ten, a terrible accident happened upon the hill, by the fall of a scaffold, which put all the people in great confusion, several persons were killed, and numbers maimed and bruised.* A most dreadful catastrophe indeed! and which being mention'd here, may suggest a variety of reflections to the enthusiastic part of the Jacobites: Such as, that Heaven manifested its disapprobation of lord *Lovat's* exit, by the calamities with which it was attended: That the Divine wrath was plainly seen, by the terrible effects of its vengeance; and that the unhappy victim must necessarily have been a man of superior virtue, a genuine martyr, since the Almighty thought fit to signalize so conspicuously his execution, by not permitting him to fall alone.

The last passage I shall examine, in the light in which I have hitherto considered this pamphlet, is extracted from the copy of the paper delivered to the sheriffs by lord *Lovat*, Page 24. His lordship therein says: *As to my death, I cannot but look upon it as glorious.* No doubt but the pamphlet-writer may think it so, and would gladly inculcate such an opinion to the rest of the world; but with what design, I shall leave to the determination of every sensible, unbiass'd reader. Let me only observe, that if his death was really glorious, what idea ought we to entertain of those who brought him to it? But the enlighten'd part of the nation, who, thanks to Providence, are far the greatest part, are too firmly persuaded, of the knowledge, the rectitude and impartiality of his noble judges, to be sway'd either by any *Ipse dixit* of this unfortunate nobleman; or by the STARS which fill up the rest of this remarkable paragraph. Here the pamphlet writer, drawing his mask closer, only discovers still more plainly the ponyard he, till then, had endeavour'd to conceal; by giving every reader an opportunity of supplying (agreeably to the secret drift of this treasonable paper) the chasm left after the sounding epithet GLORIOUS.

Having now sufficiently examined the motives which, in all probability, might induce the author to offer this pamphlet to the public, I shall next consider his lordship as to the article of *Religion*.

The

The pamphlet-writer says, Page 17, *though his lordship had an awful idea of religion and a future state; I could never observe, in his gesture or speech, the least shadow of fear, or indeed any symptoms of uneasiness.* The consequence drawn here, by the pamphlet-writer, can hardly be just; since it has been observed, by those who have given us the lives of martyrs, that a mind duly inspired by religion, so far from being depress'd by fear on that account; finds, on the contrary, its great and only consolation, from a reflection on the consciousness of its own virtue; the goodness of the Creator; and the hopes of a blessed immortality. Farther, this awful idea of religion, and a future state (which argue a spirit of mildness and resignation) seem not very consistent with his lordship's anger about his peruke, the very morning of his execution. 'About half an hour after eight, the barber brought his lordship's wig, which not being powder'd so much as usual, on account of its being a rainy day, he seem'd angry, and said, *That he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet embroider'd he would wear it on that occasion.*' How a mind that panted for dissolution, and *hop'd to be in Heaven by one o'clock*, Page 18, should be so solicitous about adorning that head of earth, which was quickly to be sever'd from its body, seems to me a paradox. Had his lordship's soul been in a due christian frame, it would have been employ'd on the beatifick vision, rather than on the pomps and vanities of this *evil world*, as he justly styles it, Page 23; on the rapturous joys he expected shortly to taste in Paradise, rather than on such a trifle as the powdering of his wig; or that no less trifle, *a suit of velvet embroider'd*. A man of honour would gladly die with a becoming decency; and his attending to the minutest circumstance, as many might think it, on so solemn an occasion, shall be very praise-worthy. Such was the conduct of the celebrated *Lucretia*, who, after having been ravished by the vile son of *Tarquin*, and stabbing herself, threw, as she fell, her robe over those parts which necessarily require a veil; in order that the persons who should find her lifeless corpse, might not perceive the least tokens of immodesty about it.

*Tunc quoque jam moriens, ne non procumbat honestè
Respicit: Hæc etiam cura cadentis erit.*

OVID. FASTOR.

To return to his lordship. We are entertain'd with the conversation which pass'd between him and his barber; the son, (as lord *Levat* imagined) of a *Muggletonian*: We find that, after his lordship had shewn his resentment with regard to his peruke's not being properly powder'd; he again spoke to the barber, Page 18, *about his principles, and told him his notions were extremely singular*; 'For the soul, said his lordship, is a
B 2 'spiritual

‘ spiritual substance, and can no more be dissolved for a time, or buried with the body, than it can be annihilated entirely, and at the same time smiled.’---My lord, said the barber, ‘ you’ll see that.’ What a transition have we, in his lordship’s part of the dialogue ! such a one as might naturally induce the barber [whose father’s principles I no ways espouse] to look upon lord *Lovat*’s behaviour as no less singular, than the latter thought the principles of the *Muggletonians*; or incline him to consider his lordship merely as an enthusiast or a hypocrite ; and therefore I don’t see how the barber could have made his lordship a more proper answer. I would farther ask, who shewed most judgment ; lord *Lovat*, in being angry that his wig was not sufficiently decorated, a little before his going to execution ; or his barber, in imagining, probably, that a little powder best suited so very tragical a ceremony ?

I submit to the reader, whether there does not seem something like enthusiasm, in the air and manner with which lord *Lovat* receiv’d the news of the dead-warrant being come. *His lordship*, page 4, taking him, the messenger, by the hand, drank his health, thank’d him kindly for the favour, as he call’d it, and assur’d him he was so well satisfied with his doom, that he would not change stations with any prince in Europe. My lord must surely have entertain’d a most dreadful idea of the condition of the several princes; or was a down-right enthusiast; or did not speak as he really thought. Surely life is, in general, so very sweet to each individual; and the thoughts of a violent death so extremely shocking, that no man in his perfect senses but would prefer his present existence to it. That his lordship was not always so vastly enamoured with death, is evident from his endeavours, which were very natural, to escape from his majesty’s forces, and to save his life when upon his trial; and particularly from the soothing letter sent, by him, to his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*; and which I heard read in *Westminster-Hall*; wherein lord *Lovat* has recourse to all the flowers of rhetoric, in order to move the duke; such as, *the holding him in his arms, when a child; and presenting him to his royal grandfather, who, as he observed, had a great kindness for his lordship.* What a strong contrast was there, between this letter to his royal highness; and that of lord *Lovat* to his son, wherein he so earnestly exhorts him, to give the young Pretender the best accommodations possible : Might not this naturally put the auditor in mind of *Proteus* ?

*Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
Ignemque, horribilemque feram, fluviumque liquentem.*

VIRG. Georg. IV.

Paraphras’d in English.

‘ The slipp’ry God will try to loose his hold :---
‘ And various forms assume, to cheat thy sight ;

‘ And

- ‘ And with vain images of beasts affright.
- ‘ With foamy tusks, will seem a bristly boar,
- ‘ Or imitate the lion’s angry roar ;
- ‘ Break out in crackling flames to shun thy snares,
- ‘ Or hiss a dragon, or a tyger stares :
- ‘ Or with a wile, thy caution to betray,
- ‘ In fleeting streams attempt to slide away.

DRYDEN.

In the same view with the passage borrowed from page 4, quoted above, I consider what is related, page 11: *About ten o’clock he, lord Lovat, sang part of a song ; at which the warder express’d his surprize, and ask’d his lordship how he could be so merry when he was to die to-morrow. To which my lord replied, that he was as fit for an entertainment as ever he was in his life.* But his lordship argues much more rationally, when speaking to one of the warders concerning his death: *’Tis a debt, says lord Lovat, page 16, we all owe, and what we must all pay; and don’t you think it better to go off in this manner, than to linger with a consumption, gout, dropsy, fever, &c.* These words, and what he said to a friend of his who seem’d dejected as he was going up to the scaffold, page 21; *Cheer up thy heart, man, I am not afraid, why should you?* are worthy of the hero, the philosopher; and neither *Brutus*, nor *Seneca*, could have spoke more to the purpose.

His lordship delivers himself in a truly Christian style, and with decent heroism, when he says, in his letter to his son the master of *Lovat*, page 7: *I know not yet what my fate may be, but blefs God, I am prepared to go to the scaffold and block to-morrow, if God in his divine will and providence hath ordered it so.* The whole letter seems dictated by a spirit of Christian piety; and such a one [tho’ some may think it favours too much of the bigot] as a tender father might naturally send to a dearly beloved son, the *darling of his soul*, as my lord styles him in one of his letters; and yet, if he was such, his lordship has had great wrong done him.

Where mention is made of his lordship’s religion, page 15, we are told that he *assur’d* some gentlemen he was conversing with, *that he was bred a Protestant; but going abroad, and having some disputes with father ***** [no matter who] he found himself very much stagger’d in his principles, and pray’d to God, to direct him in the right way.* If his lordship was really very much stagger’d on this occasion, I am afraid he had been little grounded in his original principles; otherwise he could never have been induced to embrace so extravagant a religion as that of the Papists; a religion the system of which is equally ridiculous with the *tales of the fairies*, and far less diverting. *’Tis added, in the above page, that after this, his lordship studied divinity and controversy three years, and then turned Roman Catholick.*

tholick. ‘ This is my faith, says he, but I have charity for all mankind; and I believe every sincere, honest man bids fair for Heaven, let his persuasion be what it will, for the mercies of the almighty are great, and his ways past finding out.’ His lordship’s becoming a convert to popery from protestantism, is no great compliment to his capacity [spite of that paid him by the pamphlet-writer] who declares him, page 17, to have *had a great share of memory and understanding*; but his conversion is all of a piece with his jacobitism; and indeed the connexion between this and popery is so great, that ’tis surprizing they should ever be afunder, tho’ this is sometimes found. However, lord *Lovat* seems to have been one of the more moderate *Romanists*; it being well known, that the zealots among them, are so very tender-hearted, as to allow of no salvation out of the pale of their wonder-working church.

The following paragraph is introduc’d, page 15. *after this he, [lord Lovat] pulled out a silver crucifix, and either kiss’d it, or rubb’d his mouth with it, I don’t know which. Then handing it about, here is a crucifix, says he, did you ever see a better? observe how strong the expression is, and how finely the passions are delineated. We keep pictures of our best friends, of our fathers, mothers, &c. and pray why shou’d not we keep a picture of him, who has done more than all the world for us?* doubtless such an image may be kept with great propriety; and when finely executed, shall give vast pleasure to a curious eye, as well as to many a devout mind. But then, why worship such a figure? why kiss or rub one’s mouth with it? why consider it, as the representation of the mighty *Jehovah*, of the amazing, God of the universe; he who fills all space, and whose nature is infinitely above the comprehension of us, mean worms, whose terrestrial part, crawls up and down the earth for a few moments, and then vanishes. One wou’d conclude, that lord *Lovat*, being describ’d as master of *a great share of learning*, [page 15,] *memory and understanding*, [page 17,] would have had no occasion for such pieces of sculpture, to raise in him a stronger idea of our creator or redeemer, but that his imagination, from what he, during so long a course of years, must have heard, read, and seen, would have exhibited the divine person to his mind, in infinitely stronger colours, than could be done by silver, or any terrestrial substance. That as his eyes were open; the view of the skies, of the great celestial luminary, and of every thing round him, loudly proclaim the divinity, presiding over the whole creation: that the cloathing the redeemer of the world, with such materials, and portraing him in so contracted a form, was infinitely beneath his true grandeur and majesty. Then, as to his lordship’s argument, *viz.* that we may be allowed to keep pictures of our saviour, since

since we preserve those of our relations, whom we value ; I answer that the comparison, does not seem, [to me at least] to suit in any manner: the representations of our friends or relations, may probably be very exact; but those of the deity, cannot possibly be so. With regard to lord *Lovat's* applauding the strength of the expression, in this *crucifix*, and the beauty with which the passions were delineated; this praise is wholly due to the artist who made it; and the like elogium would have been bestow'd upon him, by all the *Connoisseurs*, had he fram'd a [suppos'd] strong image, of an opposite kind of being. As to myself, whenever I would represent to my mind, the creator, or the redeemer, I summons together the most august, the most awful ideas in my frail power; and, from these united, form something infinitely above the utmost force of paint or language; and then, after this strong exertion, find myself quite lost in the immensity of the reflection. Hence, when I image to my fancy, lord *Lovat* kissing his *crucifix*, and rubbing his mouth with it, he appears to me in no other light, than a child toying with, and hugging his baby.

However, when I reflect on one or two articles, [those of absolution, and masses for souls departed] in the Romish religion, I am almost inclin'd to retract what I before hinted at, viz. that lord *Lovat's* turning Papist, was no compliment to his understanding. It has been remark'd, as one great difference between the Protestant and Popish religions, that the former is the most commodious for living in; and that the latter gives the best *Quietus*, at our exit. A man, when drowning will catch at a straw; and the *Viaticum* of the church of *Rome* is so pregnant with blessings, that 'tis no wonder multitudes should scramble for them. Such a religion seems, indeed perfectly well calculated, for a man who, being firmly persuaded of its truth, should resolve to lead a most abandon'd life. With what security and gust might such a one, especially if rich, plunge into vices of every kind, and be a scourge to his fellow-creatures, in case he did not entertain the least doubt but that the absolution of a priest, during his life-time; or masses offered up in his favour after his decease, would purge him from all his iniquities; and restore him to the spotless innocence with which he issued from his mother's womb? Impious religion, highly injurious to the creator, and a disgrace to the human species! 'Tis to brand it that I throw out these reflections, and not to disturb the *manes* of lord *Lovat*. The suggestions of this religion are so horrid, that I doubt not but that his lordship chiefly ow'd his ruin to them; to a religion, which, whilst it cajoles, fleeces, and tortures mankind, menaces the professors of every other with everlasting damnation. 'Twas its dictates that, possibly, excited in his lordship a desire of extirpating hereticks; and

and prompted him to order a *fiery cross* to be carried before his *clan*, when armed, and in open rebellion; as denouncing, against all who should refuse to join the Pretender's standard, extirpation by fire and sword †. However, let not the detestation in which I hold the Popish religion, be extended to all who profess it; so far am I from harbouring such a thought, that 'tis my sincere opinion a multitude of *Romanists* are persons of the greatest virtue; and of so much the greater, as they refuse to embrace the opportunity offered them, of being [with imagin'd impunity in the world to come] more wicked than other men.

Let us now take a view of lord *Lovat's* understanding, on which the pamphlet-writer bestows a great encomium, page 17. I take understanding to be that guide which directs a man to what is just and fitting; in which case it will be found synonymous with *wisdom*. But can his lordship's conduct be considered as guided by its sacred inspirations? We find that this nobleman, after the *English* nation had expressed its extreme abhorrence of Popery and Tyranny, by inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, and driving out king *James II*; after the deserved ill success of the rebellion in 1715 [not to mention other machinations and attempts] his lordship entertained an opinion, that there might still be a probability of settling the Pretender on the throne of these realms. But did not my lord shew the utmost weakness here? Could he imagine that the *English* nation, whilst engaged in war with *France*, its natural enemy; an enemy that would gladly ruin our manufactures and trade, shackle us with chains of Popery and Tyranny, and make us a province to its empire; that the *English*, I say, could be so infatuated, as to accept of a king nurtur'd and aided by that very power? With equal reason might lord *Lovat* have taken a servant into his family, upon the bare recommendation of a highwayman. Should he not have considered, that the memory of the barefac'd and flagrant manner in which king *James II*. violated his coronation-oath, is fix'd on high like a beacon, to warn *Englishmen* not to put the least trust in any son of *Rome*, whatever plausible promises he may make, and how beautifully soever he may gild over his poysonous pill?

Farther, as my lord was so very sanguine in the cause of jacobitism, would he not have discovered infinite more discretion, had he, in consideration of his age and infirmities, left the *British* dominions, and retir'd to *Paris* or *Rome*; where he might not only have lived undisturb'd and secure from danger, but been caress'd for his fiery spirit? Did it argue wisdom in him, to treasure up, in his strong-box, letters which prov'd fatal to him? Would not a prudent man have committed them to the flames, to prevent them ever rising in judgment against him?

Did

† This was proved at the trial.

Did his good sense appear, in his trifling so much with his noble judges ; and giving them all the trouble he could, at the same time that he must know, that they had more than sufficient, in their hands, to convict him ? Would he not have shewn more prudence, had he refrain'd from some satyrical expressions, before their lordships, which drew upon him a reproof from that solemn court ? Could he be so great a stranger to the cruel stratagems of the court of *Versailles*, as not to perceive that its encouraging the rebellion was merely a state-trick, in order to aggrandize their own power by disuniting us ? And could he be so ignorant in the history of latter times, as not to know, that numbers of his countrymen had fallen a sacrifice to the like insidious machinations of the *French* ? Does his lordship offer us an advantageous idea of his understanding, when, as was before hinted, we see him kissing a crucifix ; and haranguing on its beauties to the persons about him ? Those who engaged in favour of the glorious revolution, under king *William III.* were prompted by rational motives : King *James II.* had exasperated so highly all ranks of his subjects, that they call'd loudly either for a change, or for his expulsion : But was there any thing like this in the revolution meditated by the jacobites ?

I presume that the true spring and motive of his lordship's engaging in the rebellion [abstracted from the cause which he assigns for it, *viz.* the ministry's taking his independant company from him :] may be thus accounted for : This unhappy nobleman was probably seduced by the passions of ambition and interest ; passions which have proved fatal to multitudes, as is manifest from history, both antient and modern. The flattering thoughts, of raising himself and his family, to greater honours, and of his amassing more wealth, work'd too powerfull on his soul ; made him forget the oath he had taken, and the duty he ow'd to his sovereign and his country. In all probability the ducal coronet flash'd strongly on the eye of his reason and extinguish'd its light ; not to mention that, being naturally fond of command, the mock commission constituting him lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces and general of the *Highlanders*, soothed his pride. But how happy would it have been for him, had he, instead of listening to that syren, that *Ignis fatuus*, Ambition, reflected on the calamities in which it usually involves those who suffer themselves to be misguided by it.

‘ But O the curse of wishing to be great !

‘ Dazzled with hope we cannot see the cheat :

‘ Where wild ambition in the heart we find,

‘ Farewell content and quiet of the mind.

‘ For glitt’ring clouds we leave the solid shore,

‘ And wonted happiness returns no more.

STEPH. HARVEY, Esq; from JUVENAL.

If any man, who joins in a rebellion, can be thought to act with even the shadow of prudence, it must be one who, being of a desperate fortune, or having none at all; may be so abandoned as to delight himself with the hopes of triumphing amid the ruins of his country. But for a gentleman of lord *Lovat's* birth, age, titles, and estate, to share in so execrable an attempt, can scarcely be considered any otherwise than as the extremes of madness. Was his fortune not sufficient to supply him with almost every thing the most craving mind, not wholly depriv'd of reason, could wish for? In case his destructive schemes had been crown'd with success, could this have thrown him back into youth; and consequently have given him an opportunity of indulging his senses in a higher degree; or increased the number of those he enjoy'd? On the contrary, was he not bow'd down by the weight of years, oppress'd by infirmities, and on the verge of eternity? could he have found any thing, in the doctrine of that saviour, of whose image he seemed so exceedingly fond, to countenance such a conduct? and is it not repugnant to the maxims laid down by *Socrates*, *Seneca*, and the greatest sages of antiquity? As this is a true picture of the condition and behaviour of lord *Lovat*, on which the pamphlet-writer, Page 3, bestows the epithet of *extraordinary*, as it really was, in one sense; with what propriety can he make a panegyric on his understanding?

As the profess'd design of that author was to praise him at all adventures; to represent him as a hero, a saint; and consequently to draw an odium on the government for putting him to death, he even is set before us as a shining example of temperance. *I have observed already*, says the Writer Page 15, *that his lordship was never drunk in his life; and he has often declared, that he thought eating of suppers was doing violence to nature and committing a sin against the body. He seldom took any breakfast; always made a very hearty dinner, but never eat a morsel for supper.* Why are *nature* and *sin* brought in upon this occasion, except to insinuate to the world, that his lordship was a man of uncommon purity; one who, so far from yielding to the suggestions of the passions, had an entire command over them; and, with the dignity of an antient philosopher, trampled them under foot? If lord *Lovat* was really never drunk in his life, we must confess this to be an uncommon circumstance: but with respect to the other two, his eating no breakfasts or Suppers, he has ten thousand imitators; and consequently his refraining from them adds nothing of the marvellous to his character, and therefore should not have been mentioned here. 'Tis plain that the panegyrist seizes every opportunity, how minute soever, which he imagines may inspire the world with a more advantageous opinion of his hero; but how his lordship's giving *the warder a shilling to send for a bottle of Stoughton's Elixir*,

[page 14] with some other particulars, equally important, serve to that purpose, is above my narrow comprehension.

Learning has so considerable a part in forming, and finishing the compleat gentleman, that the pamphlet-writer, cou'd not omit this article; and therefore he tells us, that his lordship had *a great share of it*, (page 15) he adds; that *as he spoke the latin, french, and english fluently, and some other modern languages indifferently, we ask'd his lordship, concerning his education; he said, he studied some years at Aberdeen, and disputed his philosophy in greek. From this topic, he went to religion again ----- That after this, he studied divinity and controversy, three years, and then turn'd Roman-Catholic.* So that his lordships learning, served only as a foundation for him, (after having been brought up in the protestant faith,) to erect a popish superstructure upon it. I shall not be so rash, as to pronounce on lord *Lovat's* knowledge, being an entire stranger to it; and therefore cannot deny, but that he might have acquir'd a considerable stock in that respect. Let me, however, observe, that tho' a skill in various languages, with *the disputing on philosophy in greek*, sounds high; and seems to imply at first sight, a man who has largely water'd and enrich'd his mind, from the fountains of literature; yet, persons conversant in the learned world, are sensible that many particulars, in the philosophy of the schools, are so empty and trifling, that a sagacious man would not desire to be burthen'd with them; as also, that a skill in languages, serves sometimes, only to make men vain, and chatter like so many parrots. We know indeed, that this skill is commonly call'd learning; and nevertheless, a man possess'd of it may be ignorant; as, on the other hand, one who is a perfect stranger to all tongues, except that of his native country, shall with the greatest propriety, be stil'd a very learned man. Languages are justly term'd the keys to science, which they are in effect, and no more: whereas learning, consider'd in all its branches, comprehends the knowledge of every thing, in the compass of nature, attainable (if this expression may be allow'd me) by the human mind; and consequently claims the highest reverence, as being, the noblest object of its researches. I wou'd not, however be thought to derogate from the merit of a skill in tongues, which is very laudable, when a right use is made of it: all I mean is, to warn men from mistaking the shadow for the substance. If the memoirs of lord *Lovat*, (sold by *G. Faulkner, W. Bryen and R. James*, as writ by this nobleman) are found genuine; the public may then be able to form a much better judgment, as to his lordship's literary talents: but this I will venture to assert before-hand; if it should appear that his lordship had really treasur'd up a great deal of knowledge, it must be own'd that he made a very bad use of it: or, in other words if he was so wise as to milk his pail full (the

polite reader will excuse this homely proverb) he injudiciously kick'd it down again. The only true and noble end of learning, is to entertain, to irradiate and enlarge the soul; to keep it out of the maze of wickedness, and folly, whither it is perpetually invited; and to lead it into the paths of virtue and wisdom; when knowledge is not made subservient to these admirable purposes, instead of adorning a man, it only sets him in the most contemptible view; since such a one, tho' so happy as to hold a light in his hand, is yet indiscrete enough to dash it to pieces. A good memory may be a great ornament, a singular advantage to the possessor; and accordingly, we find lord *Lovat* mentioned (Page 17) as enjoying that faculty in a strong degree. And yet, when 'tis not regulated by the judgment, it shall add very little to a man's character, but on the contrary, detract from it. However, I don't pretend to apply this to his lordship, having never heard him speak, except at this trial. Being a polite man; having liv'd to a very advanc'd age; visited foreign countries; and gone thro' an odd variety of adventures; his company might probably be very entertaining (as the public say it was to general *Williamson*;) especially when we reflect on his lordship's talent of pleasantry, humour, or wit, (call it as you please,) a talent which can enliven, and give a zest, to the most trifling circumstances, to a nothing, and thence be pleasing to the generality of people.

'Twas therefore natural, for the pamphlet-writer, to expatiate on lord *Lovat*'s turn, in this particular; to take notice, (Page 3,) of his *uncommon gaiety and jocoseness*; to observe (Page 17,) *that his behaviour was all of a piece, and that he was the same facetious companion now, as he was before sentence was passed against (upon) him*. As this conduct appears, at first sight, to be the most extraordinary part of that unhappy lord's character, 'twas natural that his panegyrist shou'd bestow a little incense upon it. The seeming gaiety with which his lordship left our earth, and took a leap into the dark, as Mr. *Hobbes* terms it; may put one in mind of the facetious question ask'd by *Augustus Cæsar*, in his last sickness. We are told by *Suetonius*, that this emperor finding himself one day worse than usual, call'd for a looking-glass; after which, causing his head and hair to be deck'd; he turn'd about to his courtiers, and cried with a smile, *don't you think me a good player?* to the same purport are the words made use of by *Rabelais*, in his expiring moments: *Let fall the curtain, the farce is ended*. From the part which lord *Lovat* acted, in the drama of his life, one would conclude, that he consider'd it in the same comic light with this famous joker. That his lordship had a talent for repartee, is evident from the perusal of the pamphlet, now under consideration, where, (tho' all his answers and reflections, are far from

glittering

glittering alike;) I defy any man to mend the shrew'd one, relating to that *Coryphæus*, of enthusiasts, the now celebrated Mr. Painter, of St. John's-College in Oxford, when lord Lovat says, (page 11,) *I'm afraid the poor gentleman, (Mr. Painter,) is weary of living in this wicked world; and, if that be the case; the obligation is alter'd, because a part of the benefit is intended for himself.*

Men will consider the seeming indifference, or rather satisfaction, with which his lordship went to the block, and submitted to the fatal stroke, in an advantageous or unfavourable light, agreeably to the religious or political principles, by which they are byas'd; and their peculiar temper, and cast of mind. There is no doubt, but the chief or only design of the pamphlet-writer, in representing lord Lovat so very easy, and even gay, when death stared him in the face, was, that our countrymen might thence falsely suppose him a man who, so far from being conscious of his committing a crime, was, on the contrary, sensible that he fell in the most glorious of all combats, that of virtue: That his cheerfulness was a manifest indication of his innocence; and of his being in firm expectation of an immortal crown, as a reward for his glorious attempt; and consequently, that the cause which triumphed, *viz.* that of our religion, of our sovereign, and our liberty, was a diabolical cause. On the other hand, the friends to the present government, will, from a reflection on lord Lovat's past life, and the whole tenor of his behaviour, especially in his latter moments; conclude, that he acted in a manner wholly unbecoming a christian, and a philosopher; since his great care should have been, the making his peace with Heaven, rather than to have sported (to borrow an image from *Prior*) so idly with the darts of death. This will be the construction of most persons of a serious turn; whilst others, who are fond of a joke, on all occasions, may be delighted with those of his lordship, even in *Articulo mortis*.

The pamphlet-writer, in all probability, intended that the reader, on the perusal of his narrative, should form a parallel between the exit of this ill-fated nobleman, and those of the greatest philosophers of antiquity; of the most celebrated martyrs; and particularly of Sir Thomas More, and Sir Walter Rawleigh. But here we may apply a passage from Mr. Addison *, speaking of the former: *What was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners.*

Lord Lovat's cheerfulness, at his leaving the world, had furnished a subject for panegyric to many of the old Romans, tho' they would have abhorr'd the principle, to which he ow'd his fall,

* *Spectator*, No. 349.

fall, viz. an attempt to extirpate liberty. 'Tis well known, that the people just mention'd, entertain'd a veneration for those who held death in contempt; and that the inculcating this contempt was one of the great objects of a branch of their sages. Mr. *de St. Evremond* would, perhaps, on this account, have considered his lordship in the same view as he does a celebrated *Roman* author. '*Petronius*, says this ingenious gentleman *, ' offers us ' in his death, only one image of life: There was no action, no ' word, no circumstance, which denotes the perplexity of a man ' who is leaving this world. 'Tis for him, properly, that dying ' may be called ceasing to live; and the *VIXIT* of the *Romans* ' may justly be applied to *Petronius*.' But then I imagine that, after meditating on the general character of lord *Lovat*, the above author would have closed his reflections, with what modesty prompted him to observe so pleasantly concerning himself: † ' With regard to myself, who have ever lived at random; 'twill ' be enough that I die in the same manner. Since prudence has ' had so small a share in the actions of my life; I should be sorry ' did it pretend to direct the close of it.' Nor would his lordship's manner of dying, have displeased another writer of the same country: ' I despise, says he ‡, a too serious death, the ' chief merit of which consists in a strong air of affectation. I ' set as little value upon courage, when too deeply concerted. ' Something of indolence becomes those who are quitting life; I ' mean that indolence which is the genuine, the first sensation of ' unadulterated joy. As this arises from the tranquillity of the ' mind, can any pleasure be put in competition with it? How- ' ever, I do not pretend to propose this to persons of a reserved ' and gloomy turn of mind; such being displeased with every ' thing which is not exactly conformable to the most serious ' rules. These would frown on any person who should endeavour, by diverting them ingeniously from the prospect of ' death, to lessen the horror it seems to inspire.' But in how different a strain would our orthodox divines argue on this occasion; for the authors quoted above were far from being bigots to the Christian religion.

Multitudes are apt to lay the greatest stress on the words of dying persons; and yet we have the most convincing demonstration (and from persons executed, who left the world with protestations diametrically opposite) that they are sometimes not to be regarded. *The observation of Lucretius*, says Mr. *Bayle* ||, viz. *that men, when expiring, unmask themselves, and appear in their genuine colours, does not always hold true. A false shame*
often

* Vol. II. of his works. † *Saint-Evremond*, Vol. I. ‡ Mr. *Deslandes*, in his reflections on the death of such great men as died with pleasantry. || In his Dictionary: under *Francis of Lorrain*, duke of *Guise*.

often accompanies us to the grave; and that love of glory which the great idolized during their life-time, forces them to conceal, even when they are quitting the World, whatever might sully their reputation. A predominant passion has sometimes so great an ascendant, as not to be restrained by the view of approaching death. This was observable in Tiberius's darling quality; I mean dissimulation; the historian relating, 'that tho' he failed in his bodily strength, 'twas otherwise with his hypocrisy; he still discovering the same stern frame of mind, the same earnestness with regard to speech and countenance; and sometimes shewing an affected courtesy, which yet covered an evident decay.' '*Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio diserebat. Idem animi rigor, sermone ac vultu intentus, quæsitâ interdum comitate, quamvis manifestam defectionem tangebât **.' Lord Lovat cannot, however, be branded, by his friends, with having abandoned their cause; he maintaining it, outwardly at least, to the last: but what might be his real sentiments, which possibly were sincere, I shall not pretend to determine; for these, perhaps, were known to Heaven and himself only. But will the reader permit me to offer a few conjectures, and not thence entertain a disadvantageous opinion of my temper; not consider me as a man who bore an inveterate hate to lord Lovat, nor one who pollutes all things with his touch? Possessing so much strength of mind as his lordship appears to have been endued with, this might predominate so far, as to make him resolve to die in a manner quite consistent with the cause in which he had embark'd, tho' he were fully convinc'd of its being a bad one. His lordship was justly become obnoxious to the party he had espoused; and therefore, since he naturally expected no quarter, he might arm himself with resolution sufficient for him to keep up a good exterior; and thereby preserve his reputation in the minds of the Jacobites. Here, I believe, follows an essential difference between the effect of the behaviour of this nobleman, and that of the earl of *Kilmarnock*: The friends of the Pretender will ever look upon the former, for adhering so strenuously to their cause, even in his expiring moments, as a gentleman of the utmost honour and fortitude: whilst the latter will be considered, by many among them, as a weak, unstable creature, unworthy the name of a man. Which of them died most like a christian can scarcely be made a question. But what is this reputation, this fame after death, of which lord Lovat, might be solicitous? a puff, a nothing: and yet this impulse shall be strong in the most excellent men; and when rightly directed, be productive of the happiest effects. It may, perhaps, arise from vanity, and a mistaken supposition (if I may be allowed the whimsical thought) that a person, tho' struck

* Tacit, Annal. Lib. vi. cap. 50.

struck from this earth, shall yet enjoy the same sensations and faculties as when living. Hence might arise his lordship's desire, among other things, that the executioner should not be permitted, even to touch any of his cloaths after his head was off, page 23; hence his facetious care with regard to his funeral, page 12. *He then told them, he would have his body carried to Scotland, to be interred in his own tomb, in the church of Kirkhill; and said that he had once made a codicil to his will, where all the pipers from Johnie Groat's house to Edinburgh, were invited to play before his corpse, for which they were to have a handsome allowance; and tho' that might not be thought proper now, yet he was sure some of the good old women in his country would sing a CORONACH (much like the Irish howl) before him.*

'And then, says he, there will be old crying and clapping of hands, for I am one of the greatest chiefs in the *Highlands*.' His lordship might image to his mind, that he, even when his head was sever'd, should see the procession of pipers sounding in solemn chorus; and the old women, in frantic attitudes, shrieking over his grave. However this be, the government seems to have acted very wisely, in not permitting the corpse of this mistaken nobleman to be carried to the *Highlands*, where it doubtless might have been worshiped as a saint, and occasion tumults: Which shews that our pamphlet-writer was out in his politicks in mentioning this grotesque incident.

Some of the enemies to lord *Lovat's* memory, may consider the fortitude with which he bore the approaches of death, as an act of heroism common to persons of the most infamous cast; and thence be apt to draw disgraceful parallels, which I shall be far from attempting. These will observe; that we hear, almost every month, of criminals who shew the utmost intrepidity, on all occasions, before and after condemnation, and even at their deplorable exit. 'How many of the common people (says an author who had a great knowledge of the human mind *) 'do we see, carried to death; and not to a plain death, but to one attended with ignominy, and sometimes grievous torments, behave with so much resolution, either thro' obstinacy, or from their natural simplicity, as not to vary in the least from their usual behaviour; settling their family affairs; recommending themselves to their friends; singing, preaching to, and discoursing with the populace; even sometimes throwing out the most jocular expressions, and drinking to their acquaintance with the air of a *Socrates*? One of these, when leading to execution, desir'd that he might not go thro' a certain street, for fear he should be arrested for an old debt. Another intreated the hangman not to touch his neck, lest this should make him burst into a laugh, he being (as he declared)

* *Montagne*, in his *Essays*, Book I. Chap. 40.

' clared) vastly ticklish. A third said to his confessor, upon his
 ' telling him, that he would sup that night in Paradise; go thi-
 ' ther yourself, for 'tis a fast with me. Another desiring some
 ' liquor, and the executioner having drank first; the criminal
 ' protested he would not pledge him, for fear of catching the
 ' foul disease. Every one has heard of a fellow of *Picardy*,
 ' who, being on the ladder; and seeing a young woman who was
 ' brought, in order for him to marry her, and thereby, save
 ' his life, (which our laws sometimes permit;) the criminal, after
 ' surveying her, and perceiving that she was lame, bawl'd out
 ' to the hangman,----Tie up, tie up, the wench limps.' One
 would conclude, that some of the above pictures had been drawn
 by the unaffected *French* author, for too many of our flagitious
 countrymen, who are famous, throughout the world, for the
 carelessness and intrepidity, with which they often suffer a vio-
 lent death. Let me observe again, that 'tis no ways my inten-
 tion, to form odious parallels. There sometimes may be an ex-
 treme wide difference, as to the spring or motive, between per-
 sons of education, rank, and estate, who suffer for rebellion,
 tho' the most heinous of all crimes; and those low wretches (I
 don't quarrel, however, with their extraction) who, born in the
 midst of want, ignorance, and wickedness, and nurtur'd in
 them; declare war against society, and are eternally upon the
 watch to distract it. My meaning is, for I wou'd not willingly
 be misunderstood, especially here;) that a man, tho' possess'd of
 a heart upright as that of a *Cato*, may yet, either from a weak
 head, or evil counsellors, imbibe bad political principles, and pur-
 sue them to his utter ruin. But the common wretches, hinted
 at above, act upon principles destructive to the peace and welfare
 of mankind. The just ill fate of the former, may therefore
 sometimes awake pity; but that of the latter must naturally ex-
 cite detestation. The intelligent reader will not conclude that
 I am making an apology for lord *Lovat*. One article, in this
 ill-fated nobleman's conduct, as was observ'd, clearly shows his
 guilt; I mean his swearing allegiance to his majesty, and accept-
 ing a pension from him. If obligations of this kind are to be
 trifled with, all the ties which unite men together, would be
 broke; and an end put, not only to government in general, but
 to particular society.

Those who were present at lord *Lovat*'s trial, and have read
 the pamphlet animadverted upon here, (I not regarding the pre-
 tended accounts published, concerning him;) may form a toler-
 ably just idea of his character; tho' it, perhaps, would not be
 very easy to delineate exactly some parts of it. 'Tis observ'd,
 that the qualities of certain animals, are eminently seen in many
 men; if so, the predominant ones in his lordship, may be sup-
 pos'd to have resembled those for which the *fox* is chiefly noted,

and as they are strongly mark'd in Mr. *Hogarth's* sketch. That cunning and dissimulation, were two of the chief ingredients in lord *Lovat's* composition, is evident, from the part he acted in the rebellion; and that interest or vanity, or both, and likewise their share, is manifest from the motives, on which his lordship, in all probability, join'd in it. If he play'd such a *Janus* part, with regard to his unhappy son, as he is accus'd of, this will reflect the blackest odium on his memory; if otherwise, his slanderers deserve a severe punishment. To draw accurately the characters of the earl of *Kilmarnock*, the lords *Lovat*, *Balmorino*, with that of Mr. *Ratcliffe*; the several features in which they resembled; and those, wherein there was an opposition, might require great judgment, and a delicate pen. The circumstance which strikes me most in lord *Lovat's* character, is his uninterrupted pleasantry, especially at the approach of death. Many will show the strongest resolution on so solemn an occasion; but to be jocose, at such a critical season, appears to me, very extraordinary. The speculation would be curious, to enquire whether his lordship's cheerfulness, might have been real or assum'd; whether he had an internal support; and, if so, whether this might be owing to natural strength of mind, to education, to religion, to pride; or to a mixture of all, or some of them. But whatever the source might have been, this behaviour raises my astonishment. For a man, who was charg'd with a crime of the deepest dye, and ready to launch into eternity, to possess so great a command, over his exterior, as not to betray the least symptoms of fear, speaks (in my humble opinion) something either insensible, frantic, or superior to nature; for surely 'twould be natural to shudder with horror, in so momentous a juncture. For a person, not to reflect, that at one inexpressibly-torturing blow, which was going to be levell'd at him, a dark curtain would fall over all things; this earth vanish; and the soul or body, or both, be perhaps dragg'd to regions of unutterable woe, argues, (methinks) a very strong brain, or none at all. Should this person's behaviour be feign'd, he must be allowed to act his part admirably, and even superior to a *Garrick*. At the same time, I do not propose such an end (whence the motto, in the title-page may be consider'd as ironical,) as fit for imitation, man being but an atom, it may become him, when in the deplorable circumstances we are speaking of, rather to humble himself in dust, before his creator, and express the most unfeign'd sorrow for the crimes he may have committed; the applauding of these careless and resolute exits, might encourage guilt, by setting contrition in a contemptible light, and thus be injurious to the spirit of christianity. To conclude the contrast: the sight of a prisoner, leaving this world with patience, resignation, and a show of repentance,

may

may naturally move our *compassion*; and the exit of one, who behav'd on such an occasion with gaiety may excite our *wonder*,

I shall here conclude what I had to observe concerning lord *Lovat*; and again declare, that the sole motive of my undertaking this task, was to prevent the venom, compriz'd in the narrative with which I have made so little ceremony, from spreading. As its author is quite unknown to me, I cannot be charged with harbouring any personal picque against him. It has, indeed, been whispered, that he is chaplain to one of the *Romish* em---rs at our court; if so, he cannot have acted the part of a friend, an ally always implying such. At the rebellion in 1715, the papers left by the deluded sufferers for it, were publicly dispersed; but the present government has not thought this proper. The papers here hinted at, spoke broad treason; they styling his late majesty only *elector of Hanover*, and the Pretender king *James III. &c.* But as our pamphlet-writer could not have had an opportunity of publishing his dangerous narrative openly, had he spoke his whole mind; he studiously gives, on every occasion, the title of *majesty* to our present sovereign king *George II.*; and introduces one of the sheriffs, as speaking with reverence of the ministry. It must be own'd (as I observed at the beginning) that the narrative we are speaking of is drawn up, under the appearance of simplicity, with infinite art; and being on this account, of the most pernicious tendency, I myself, tho' so ill-qualified, could not forbear offering a counterpart to it.

Many of the *Scotch* will no doubt be offended at my endeavours to explode jacobitism; and especially at my transient reflections on the bill depending, for destroying the antient jurisdiction and privileges of the *Highland* chiefs. I solemnly aver, that so far from entertaining an aversion to the *Scotch*, I consider them, in all respects, as my countrymen; and thence wish that the names *English* and *Scotch* were for ever obliterated, and that of *Briton* made use of; in order that, as we are all inhabitants of the same island, there might be no distinction between us; but that each might endeavour to rival the other in acts of humanity and beneficence. I shall subjoin, that the love I naturally bear to justice, made me rejoice when it was reported; That the *Scotch* would be indemnified, by a sum of money, for their surrendering up the jurisdictions and privileges above-mentioned.

Should any person, after reading the foregoing hasty, indigested performance, be so idle as to look after its author; he will not find him yawning in a garret, or playing the lap-dog round a minister. If he happens to meet with him, he'll see one who, being himself guilty of numberless faults, is thence less inclin'd to be severe on those of others, except where he apprehends

prehends they may be prejudicial to his native country. One who being sensible of the accomplishments requir'd in a good writer, ventures very seldom to take up the pen : Who, knowing how rarely true friendship is met with, thinks himself possess'd of a treasure whenever chance has directed him to a sincere friend : Let me add, that, having been an eye-witness to the contagion which o'erspreads great cities, he therefore lives at a distance from them ; and knowing the value of health, has scarce a wish to form when he enjoys that inestimable blessing. Entertaining (as he presumes) a tolerable notion of virtue and laudable talents, he is not so weak as to imagine that they can either be communicated, or taken away, by a ribbon or a star. Looking upon money no otherwise than a shining dirt, he covets no more than what may just enable him to slide thro' life with decency, and considering venality and corruption as the darkest blot to the human mind, his abhorrence of them rises in proportion to the eminence of the persons infected. Being persuaded of the excellency of truth, he makes it the principal object of his enquiries ; and having the happiness to be born, at a juncture when his native country gloriously asserted and recovered its injured liberty, he would not desire to survive, a single moment the loss of it.

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